

Message Text

SECRET

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

USLO PEKING IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 196226

NODIS

WHITE HOUSE FOR BRZEZINSKI ONLY

FOLLOWING REPEAT SEOUL 6885 SENT ACTION SECSTATE AUG 18.

QUOTE S E C R E T

NODIS

DEPT PLEASE PASS USLO PEKING

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (VANCE, CYRUS, KS, KN, US, CH)

SUBJECT: CONSULTATION WITH ROKG FOREIGN MINISTER ON SECRETARY'S
DISCUSSION OF KOREA ISSUES WITH THE CHINESE

REF: STATE 193729

SUMMARY. SAW FOREIGN MINISTER LATE AFTERNOON AUGUST 17.

HE WAS PLEASE THAT WE WERE CONSULTING WITH ROKG, BUT
REQUESTED TIME TO CONSIDER MATTER. HIS INITIAL REACTION TO THREE
POWER CONFERENCE WAS NEGATIVE. END SUMMARY.

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1. IN ACCORDANCE WITH INSTRUCTIONS REFTTEL, I MET WITH
FOREIGN MINISTER LATE WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON (AUGUST 17).
AFTER I HAD CONVERGED EACH OF THE POINTS MADE IN INSTRUCTIONS,
THE FOREIGN MINISTER RESPONDED BY MAKING FOLLOWING POINTS.

A. HE WELCOMED OUR INITIATIVE AND WAS PLEASED THAT WE

WERE CONSULTING ROKG.

B. HE WISHED TO HAVE ADDITIONAL TIME TO CONSIDER OUR REQUEST FOR ROKG VIEWS ON OTHER JOINT OR PARALLEL INITIATIVES. HE NOTED THAT THE FOUR POWER CONFERENCE HAD BEEN SUGGESTED BEFORE BUT THAT THE THREE POWER ALTERNATIVE SEEMED TO BE NEW. OFF-HAND, HE FELT THAT THE THREE POWER CONFERENCE MIGHT PRESENT SOME PROBLEMS, WHICH HE WISHED TO STUDY AND DISCUSS WITH PRESIDENT PARK. IN THE FIRST PLACE, THE THREE POWER IDEA MIGHT ABSOLVE THE PRC FROM ANY RESPONSIBILITY RE THE DECISIONS OF THAT CONFERENCE. THE FOREIGN MINISTER FELT THAT THE WORLD WOULD NOT UNDERSTAND WHY ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL ACTORS MIGHT NOT BE INVOLVED IN SUCH AN IMPORTANT MATTER. SECONDLY, HE FELT THAT THE KOREAN PUBLIC REACTION MIGHT BE ADVERSE BECAUSE OF ITS "MEMORY OF THE VIETNAM EXPERIENCE AND THE PARIS PEACE TREATY" (I COULD NOT GET MUCH CLARIFICATION FROM THE FOREIGN MINISTER ON THIS POINT.) IN THE THIRD PLACE, FOREIGN MINISTER WONDERED WHAT U.S. ROLE IN THREE POWER CONFERENCE WOULD BE. WOULD IT SIT ON SIDE OF ROK? OR TAKE NEUTRAL POSITION?

C. HE FELT THAT THE BASIC OBJECTIVE OF ANY EFFORTS TO STABILIZE THE PENINSULA SITUATION SHOULD BE A RECOGNITION OF THE DE FACTO CO-EXISTENCE OF TWO STATES ON THE
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PENINSULA. AT A MINIMUM, THERE SHOULD BE AN END TO HOSTILE RELATIONS. IT WOULD BE TOO MUCH TO EXPECT FRIENDLY RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO KOREAS IN THE SHORT RUN, BUT AT LEAST THE HOSTILE PROPAGANDA SHOULD COME TO AN END.

D. HE OBSERVED THAT IT WAS ABOUT TIME FOR THE PRC TO RECOGNIZE THAT THE PRESENT POLICIES WERE NOT LEADING TO A PERMANENT SOLUTION AND THAT THEREFORE IT SHOULD FIND NEW APPROACHES EVEN IF THEY HAD TO BE TAKEN OVER THE NORTH KOREA'S OBJECTIONS. IF THE PRC WERE TO CONTINUE TO FOLLOW NORTH KOREA BLINDLY, THEN IT COULD NOT EXPECT TO MAKE A CONTRIBUTION. THE FOREIGN MINISTER HOPED THAT THE SECRETARY WOULD EXPLORE WITH THE PRC WHETHER IT RECOGNIZED THAT THE TIME WAS RIPE FOR SOMETHING NEW AND FOR NORTH KOREA TO CHANGE ITS ATTITUDE.

2. IN THE CONTEXT OF ROK SUGGESTIONS, FOREIGN MINISTER SAID THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD CONTINUE TO URGE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE AND WOULD WISH TO AVOID UN DEBATE AS STERILE AND UNPRODUCTIVE. HE TOLD ME THAT LAST MARCH, DURING A MEETING WITH SECRETARY-GENERAL WALDHEIM HE HAD,

AS A PERSONAL EXPRESSION, SUGGESTED THAT CONSIDERATION BE GIVEN TO THE PASSAGE OF A SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION WHICH WOULD SUPPORT PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF THE KOREAN PROBLEM THROUGH NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE AND SUPPORT THE ENTRANCE OF BOTH KOREAS INTO THE UN. SINCE HE HAD NEVER DISCUSSED THIS IDEA WITH PRESIDENT PARK, HE HAD NOT PURSUED IT WITH WALDHEIM, BUT SUGGESTED THAT IT WAS STILL WORTH CONSIDERING.

3. AFTER OUR EXCHANGE ON U.S. INITIATIVES, THE FOREIGN MINISTER RAISED SOME QUESTIONS OF CONCERN TO HIM:

A. WILL THE SECRETARY RAISE IN PEKING THE QUESTION OF NORTH-SOUTH ENTRY INTO THE UN AND THE QUESTION OF CROSS-SECRET

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RECOGNITION? (I SAID I DIDN'T KNOW.)

B. IS THERE ANY POSSIBILITY OF NORTH KOREAN REPRESENTATION APPROACHING THE SECRETARY DURING THE PRC VISIT? (I REPEATED OUR POSITION ON DIALOGUE WITH THE NORTH ON ISSUES RELATED TO THE PENINSULA.)

C. DID THE LETTER FROM PRESIDENT CARTER TO TITO, AS REPORTED IN THE PRESS, DISCUSS THE KOREAN QUESTION? (I SAID I DID NOT KNOW THE CONTEXT OF THE LETTER FROM PRESIDENT CARTER.)

D. WILL UNDER SECRETARY HABIB COME TO SEOUL AFTER PEKING? (MY REPLY WAS THAT I THOUGHT SOMEONE FROM SECRETARY'S PARTY WOULD COME.)

4. COMMENT: IT WAS OBVIOUS THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTER WAS NOT PREPARED TO RESPOND RIGHT AWAY TO OUR INVITATION FOR IDEAS. HE REQUESTED THAT PARTICULARLY THE THREE POWER CONFERENCE IDEA NOT BE PURSUED UNTIL ROKG HAS HAD OPPORTUNITY TO CONSIDER IT. I URGED THAT HE DO SO AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE AND THAT HE ALSO GIVE ME ANY FURTHER THOUGHTS THAT MIGHT OCCUR TO ROKG. I FOUND THE ABSENCE OF ANY MENTION OF A NON-AGGRESSION PACT INTERESTING, SINCE MOFA HAS RAISED THAT POSSIBILITY WITH US ON MANY OCCASIONS. THE POSSIBILITY OF ROK ADMITTANCE TO UN WAS RAISED SEVERAL TIMES, GIVING FURTHER INDICATION OF IMPORTANCE OF THIS ISSUE TO ROKG AT THIS TIME. FINALLY, I NOTED THAT FOREIGN MINISTER LATCHED ON EAGERLY TO OBJECTIVE OF CASTING CLEAR FOCUS ON NORTH KOREA'S RESPONSIBILITY IF IT SHOULD RAIL TO RESPOND. THAT SEEMED TO INTEREST HIM MORE THAN ANY IDEAS FOR EVOLUTION OF PENINSULA PROBLEM, STEMMING PERHAPS FROM HIS EXPRESSED SECRET

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SKEPTICISM OF ANY POSITIVE REACTION FROM PRC.

5. ACTION REQUESTED: PLEASE PROVIDE GUIDANCE FOR
RESPONSE, IF ANY, TO QUESTIONS RAISED BY FOREIGN
MINISTER, AS OUTLINED IN PARAGRAPH THREE.
STERN UNQUOTE VANCE

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